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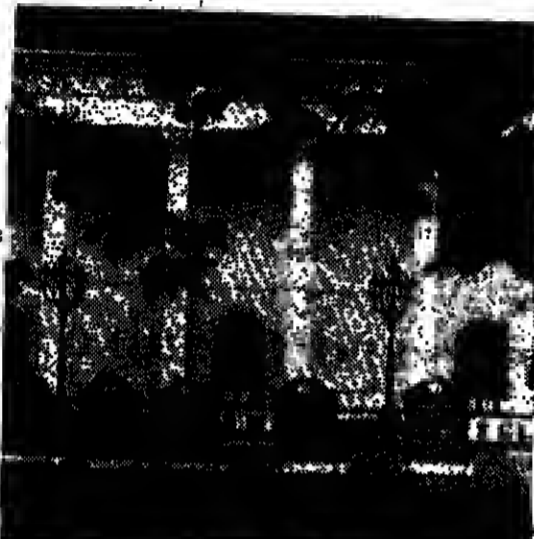
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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Britain's entry into the EEC is only a start



The few really epoch-making events in the course of European integration over the past two decades were joined by a historic decision made at the Foreign Ministers' conference in Luxembourg on 23 June.

Britain is now free to join the Common Market. The mundane negotiating points that came in for such tough bargaining at the last moment – Britain's future financial contribution to the EEC and New Zealand butter exports to Europe – pale in significance beside the major decision. Problems of detail, though far from unimportant, can easily hide from view the bona fide political substance of the process of integration in Western Europe. They represent an inevitable accompaniment that must not be mistaken for the heart of the matter.

Now that the controversy has been settled by means of compromise, compromises in which Britain in particular has had to backpedal on its initial demands, it is important to appreciate the political prospects of the expansion of the Six to include Britain and soon no doubt Denmark, Norway and Eire too.

A flourishing economic association cannot be an end in itself. The fascination of the idea is the prospect of a community of 250 million people coming to gain a position of greater independence of the world.

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Two world powers by means of increasing close political cooperation. This was the idea that motivated Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman and Alcide de Gasperi in the fifties, at a time when Britain had yet to come to terms with its decline from the position of a leading world power to that of a major medium-sized power joining forces with Europe.

Later, in the early sixties when Britain finally decided to throw in its lot with

the Continent, General de Gaulle overshadowed Europe. The General's ambition was to become a visionary unifier of the Continent, France of course being the leading light.

Britain stood in the way of his goal of a renaissance of French standing. It was humiliated as America's yes-man in Europe and its Common Market entry bid rejected.

The turning-point did not come until the General's resignation. The EEC Hague summit of December 1969, the conference at which Chancellor Brandt made his breakthrough gaining stature as a European statesman, laid the groundwork for a fresh start and a process of integration that reached its peak so far at Luxembourg.

British entry, which must first be approved by the House of Commons, is not, of course, an automatic step on the road to a programmed process of political unification.

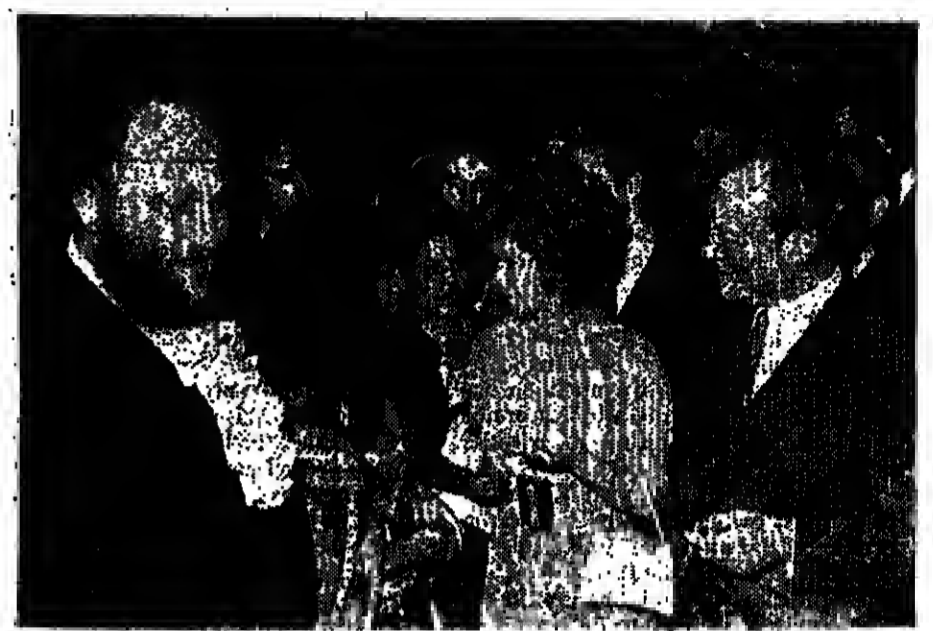
Britain is as much opposed to the idea of a melting-pot of European nations as she is post-Gaullist France.

Even so, not even modest developments in close political cooperation would be feasible had not Britain declared itself ready once and for all to throw in its lot with Europe.

One factor is the balance of political power within the Common Market. France views this country's economic predominance first and foremost in terms of the possibility of bond making foreign policy capital out of the economic lead it has over fellow-members of the European Community.

This fear is traumatic and made it easier for President Pompidou both to part company from his predecessor's policy on European integration and to show interest in British membership of the Common Market.

Regardless of the reserve towards this country, evident in this point of view it is in our interest that fears of this country's economic power being to the detriment



Chancellor entertains

Chancellor Willy Brandt and his wife, Rut, entertained representatives of the arts at their official residence, Palais Schaumburg, on 25 June. Pictured here are singers Dunja Rajter and Ivan Rebroff. (Photo: AP)

of internal political balance within the EEC lose all justification.

This facilitates, to say the least, at least a partial fulfilment of domestic expansion of the Common Market – to achieve a greater degree of rapprochement in the foreign, and possibly defence, policy sectors.

The same is true of Western Europe's relations with the United States. America, having long since exchanged its role of the initial advocate of European integration for that of an interested observer, is only prepared to countenance the inevitable economic disadvantages of a ten-member EEC on condition that the Community also contributes towards political stability in Europe.

America views stabilisation as a decided benefit. Russia takes a dim view of integration. At one stage Moscow even felt that its plan to hold a pan-European security conference might take the wind out of the Common Market's sails.

As long as the Soviet Union is not prepared to make political concessions in return for Western Europe forging inte-

gration, preferring to place obstacles in the way of further development, there is no reason for not accepting the logic of history: certainly not as long as the future united Europe remains open towards the East and shows willing to cooperate.

It is hard to assess the extent to which Western Europe's ability to assert itself politically will increase. The prospect is no substitute for results.

A ten-member EEC based on unanimous decisions only will need a different leadership structure if the present dynamism is not to evaporate or indeed give way to stagnation.

Only a start has been made. Britain, moreover, is on the brink of a severe domestic test: Were its otiose merridy to be the result of many painful processes of adjustment a fair degree of scepticism would be in order.

A majority of British political leaders nonetheless senses the historic challenge. This is a historic juncture not only for Britain but for Western Europe as a whole.

Kurt Becker
(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 June 1971)

Moscow's peace offensive may have ulterior motives

The Soviet government has made a formal proposal of General Secretary Brezhnev's suggestion of a conference of the five nuclear powers and underlined the importance of the proposal by officially informing the White House.

Following Mr. Brezhnev's call for negotiations on troop cuts in Europe and his comments on the possibility of talks on Soviet and American naval strength in the Mediterranean US observers are talking in terms of a Soviet peace offensive.

They rate these proposals as an attempt to influence the climate of world affairs in Russia's favour and at the same time to pursue specific aims.

Washington attaches prime importance to the SALT talks, which are beginning to show prospects of achieving results, and is not of the opinion that Moscow's latest proposal is designed to downgrade the talks on strategic arms limitation.

Part Soviet wishes make it appear likely that Moscow expects a conference at which Britain, France and China are also to attend and negotiate not limitations but rules of conduct on the use (or non-use) of nuclear weapons.

Presumably Moscow would like to bring pressure to bear on China, a rival it has always viewed with a certain amount

of misgiving, should Peking refuse to play ball.

It is also well known that Moscow would dearly like the position of the other nuclear powers to be clear should Russia and China go to war.

Both talks on troop cuts in Europe and a conference of nuclear powers would establish a new level of negotiations at which the Soviet Union could perky with various Western countries.

Soviet spokesmen proudly mention Moscow's relations with France, which emphasises its nuclear independence and itself has in the past advocated a conference of the five nuclear powers.

Nuclear weapons on European territory and the guidelines for their use are a delicate subject in NATO and weapons systems capable of reaching Soviet ter-

Continued on page 2

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

'Change by means of rapprochement' is the keynote of Bonn's new approach

Hannoversche Allgemeine

There has been continual discussion of whether a bear can be domesticated or a shark transformed into a harmless aquarium-dweller ever since conflict between East and West began and both sides continue to wonder.

In the eyes of a root and branch Communist monopoly capitalism is a man-eater. Pulling its teeth is not enough to render it harmless; the killer must be killed.

The West, in contrast, has always harboured hopes of the Russian bear in the long run desisting from using its claws. The only bone of contention has been and continues to be whether or not the bear has yet learnt to exercise restraint.

This is the leading question behind the Berlin talks, behind Salt and behind the possible negotiations on troop cuts in Europe or on the Middle East.

Has the Soviet Union become more peaceable than it used to be or are we merely experiencing another temporary phase of Soviet restraint to be followed sooner or later by a fresh spate of aggressiveness?

The history of East-West relations since the Second World War could indeed be portrayed as a continuous succession of periods during which the West has felt that the Soviet leadership has had a change of heart.

American hopes of Stalin being prepared to cooperate in peace were disappointed shortly after the war when Poland was ruthlessly Sovietised and dashed once and for all when Moscow engineered the Communist putsch in Prague.

Confident assumptions that Stalin's successors took the idea of peaceful coexistence seriously were disproved in Hungary in 1956 and when, at the end of the fifties, hopes that the Soviet Union had come of age and was at long last prepared to forgo adventurist policies again came to the fore, Nikita Khrushchev promptly engineered the 1962 Cuban crisis.

The last trough in this succession of ups and downs was in 1968 when the world temporarily harboured hopes that Moscow might be prepared to tolerate reformism in Czechoslovakia. Again the crunch came overnight.

Many people in the West have accordingly come to the conclusion that hopes

of any change whatsoever in Soviet policies are in vain. As one observer once put it, "Waiting for a Soviet Dubcek is like waiting for Godot; he never comes."

The policy towards the Eastern Bloc that this country has pursued over the past year and a half defies understanding, though, unless the policymakers reckon there is at least a chance that the Soviet Union is now more interested in peaceful cooperation than in the maintenance of confrontation with the West.

Disregarding details of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw it is mainly the Opposition's deep distrust of this view that has led to disagreement among the political parties in Bonn.

The differences of opinion are, however, by no means as clear-cut as they were ten or twenty years ago. The Christian Democrats are no longer utterly convinced that the East will never change and the Federal government, although it may not be keen on publicising the fact, has doubts as to whether in the long run Soviet policies can be trusted.

What other explanation can there be for Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt's recent statement that *Ostpolitik* can only be based on Western strength?

There can be no overlooking the fact that a number of changes in Soviet outlook have occurred. Never in all the past decades has Moscow been seen to be so eager to enter into close cooperation with Western Europe in trade, science and technology.

Never has the Soviet Union refrained to so great an extent from firing propaganda broadsides at the alleged capitalist conspiracy in the West in order to keep the Eastern Bloc on the ball.

Never before has the Soviet Union been prepared to enter into international agreements that would impose limitations on its own armaments activity. Even the most deep-seated doubters cannot deny the truth of all this.

In the present situation, then, their warnings must amount to an implication that all these changes may be but part and parcel of a comprehensive smokescreen designed by the Soviet leaders to generate a false sense of security in the West.

Once the West has become less attentive and starts to neglect defence preparedness, the argument continues, — once the West is weak enough, that is, the Soviet bear will bare its claws overnight.

Advocates of the present Bonn policy towards the Eastern Bloc cannot with certainty preclude this possibility. In persisting with the policy they must hope

it will in the long run have an educational effect.

Once peaceable relations between East and West have been established and the Soviet side too comes to realise what advantages can be gained from cooperation the inclination to revert to confrontation will, it is hoped, gradually decline.

In other words *Wandel durch Annäherung* (change by means of rapprochement) is no longer merely the tenor of this country's target in intra-German relations — the idea is to be applied on a world-wide scale.

A glance behind the scenes of day-to-day events, as it were, is sufficient to indicate that there is little point in argument as to whether present Soviet policy is aimed at maintaining or extending Soviet influence in Europe.

Moscow's opposition to European integration, for example is both defensive (since the European Community could gain influence on Eastern Europe) and offensive (since the maintenance of nation-states would perpetuate European weakness).

It is characteristic of the present international system that the two rival super-powers cannot observe mutual neutrality. Where one leaves a vacuum the other will promptly try to take its place.

Were the West to show signs of weakness in Berlin, for instance, the Soviet Union would not hesitate to take advantage — just as the United States would not hesitate to re-establish its former predominance in the Middle East were the Soviet Union to show signs of weakness.

As long as one views the other as a bear and the other as a shark this is bound to be the case.

So the peace is safest where the situation is clearest. At the moment the East sets great store by recognition of existing frontiers in Europe.

A frontier, though, as Stanley Hoffman points out in *Gulliver's Troubles*, is merely a burglar alarm. "There is only one point in it when other factors are involved that deter the thief, the policeman on patrol, say, or the burglar's sensitivity about noise or even pangs of conscience triggered off by the alarm."

This applies to both sides. As neither sensitivity to noise nor pangs of conscience can be rated all that highly on the Soviet side it is advisable to keep the Netopolicemen on his beat. A spate of give and take over the fence may then develop.

Wolfgang Wagner
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 June 1971)

Sino-Soviet desecration on Indian Ocean

South and South-East Asia have some time been the major theatre of Sino-Soviet conflict. The stage of the most part set in July 1969 when Brezhnev announced his plan for a collective security system.

As the Soviet leader has never set the details of the proposal there has been much speculation that the Soviet Union would like secure unhindered access to the Indian Ocean by means of a new canal through Malaysia and Singapore.

Control of the Eastern access route to the Indian Ocean too Russia could take over Britain's role East of Suez and also cordon off the Indian Ocean from the People's China.

Small wonder that Peking is so volubly against this long-term project. The Chinese have engaged in verbal protest since the same time they have endeavored practical counter-measures.

In view of the present intransigence of the People's Republic the counter-moves are as yet fairly tentative but must already be viewed in the light of long-term possibilities.

China is engaged in port development in Dor-es-Salomon, Tanzania, leading to guerrillas in South Yemen and (the two prongs of a possible movement towards Oman and the Gulf), is on good terms with the Gulf whose sister was cordially received in 1971 May Day parade in Peking late been using the facilities of the harbour and is pressing ahead with building.

Chinese foreign trade, estimated about 36 million dollars, may be led by the nationalised Pakistan navy, which is to be increased by 10 units over the next five years, but can be no doubt that Peking's eye on the Indian Ocean is designed as a step on a future naval base.

The Gullit road may be considered wonder of infrastructure but as China is still a protracted business as the road starts in North Vietnam.

In the circumstances a port in Pakistan, Chittogong, for instance, would be for more convenient. Two of the major Chinese roadbuilding projects in southern direction are indeed aimed at East Pakistan. They are the road to Shigatse, Tibet, via Gangtok, Sikkim, the road from Kunming, Yunnan, to Lado in Indian Assam.

As soon as these two projects are completed the Chinese will be able to access to the Indian Ocean via Pakistan and so securing a further step against what, it is feared, are Soviet moves to secure hegemony of one of the world's major oceans.

Oskar Wolf
(Ole Welt, 15 June 1971)

New GDR leaders lack Ulbricht's fire and authority

The eighth party political conference of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the first without Walter Ulbricht since the German Democratic Republic was set up, would like secure unhindered access to the Indian Ocean by means of a new canal through Malaysia and Singapore.

Speeches that lasted several hours, and the outward appearance of the meeting was smooth, very smooth, and in the eyes of observers to place through this outer layer and find the signs that indicate how the relationship between the GDR and other countries will develop in the years to come and what will be the decisive factors in GDR domestic policy.

As was to be expected the new leading lights following Ulbricht went out of their way to avoid doing or saying anything that might bring the continuation of the old policies under any shadow of doubt. Nevertheless the tone of the meeting was somehow different.

Firstly there was Erich Honecker's remark that West Berlin was a city "mit besonderem politischem Status" (with a special political status).

This was a slightly different formulation from the old wording that has been worn out through years of heavy use — "eine besondere politische Einheit" (a special political entity).

This hardly alters the fact that the GDR leaders still view West Berlin as a city that has no right to any kind of special ties to the Federal Republic.

Then there is the passage from Leonid Brezhnev's speech in which he says in connection with the Four-Power talks: "I don't know what the situation is in the camp of our partners across the negotiating table. But for our part we are prepared to make efforts to bring this matter to a satisfactory conclusion end to end."

In the speeches made by the Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev at the SED party political conference in East Berlin there are certain passages that ginger up the old Communist ideas of the role of Capitalism in the history of the world.

In addition to this they give a significant clue towards solving the riddle of many apparent anomalies and contradictions in Soviet policies in the recent past.

The most important sentence in the Brezhnev speeches is: "Capitalism is clearly losing more and more ground every day in the countries where it is practised."

This belief is as old as the Communist system itself, many people will retort. This is certainly true. The hope that the Soviet horns can bring the rotten walls of Capitalist Jericho crashing to the ground has been the premise that has held together all classic socialist theory from Marx to Schlumpeter.

But the more time progresses, the more Capitalism requires overhauling and the more it is subject to crises, the more uncertain it becomes how long the Communists will have to wait for the destruction it will bring upon itself.

The greatest success of Socialism, albeit in a semi-democratised version in most cases, has been in the developing countries.

In the Western fortresses on the other hand, Western Europe and North America, there has been scarcely a sniff of progress for Communism apart from a high proportion of communist votes in countries such as France and Italy, although these do not really promise much hope of usurpation for the Reds.

Above all the major economic and

see that the agreement was reached effectively and put into practice."

This remark plus the pointed Brezhnev gave to the necessity of ratifying the Moscow Treaty with the additional comment that the responsibilities resulting from the Treaty were no greater for Bonn than they were for Moscow indicate that the Soviet Union is at least trying to avoid any cooling down of the warm atmosphere of willingness to negotiate.

They obviously treat the mooted reductions of troop strength in which both sides are interested as well as the projected European security conference as matters of great importance.

Speeches made on this occasion carried a great deal of weight since they were made to the senior committee of the SED in East Berlin.

Despite all the disappointments and setbacks that have surrounded the Four-Power Talks on Berlin in the past fifteen months the atmosphere at the moment still seems to be decidedly cordial.

The second most important theme to be tackled at this party political conference was the GDR's economic affairs policy. Premier Willi Stoph gave a two-and-a-half-hour speech in which he outlined the course the East German economy would be steering in the next four-and-a-half years. Basically he stuck to the directives that have already been published and become well-known in the schema of the Five-Year Plan.

Nevertheless there are some points here, too, which deserve to be given special attention. For instance Willi Stoph underlined the point that the SED had always let itself be guided by the considerations of a centralised State planning programme, linking this closely with recognition of the fact that working

people must be given a material and moral incentive.

But, he added, the exploitation of such economic laws as the categories of profits, wages, costs, producer prices, credit and interest would in future make a greater contribution towards the production of high-quality goods at low prices and boost the national earnings.

Now these are not new ideas hit upon by the German Democratic Republic; they are maxims on which we in the West have been operating for years and reaping a good yield.

As Honecker, the Party Secretary, said in his opening speech and as the directives of the Five-Year Plan have set out, the GDR's foreign trade will depend more in the coming years on an exchange of goods with other East Bloc countries.

This applies equally to exports — up to 75 per cent of which are within the framework of Comecon — and imports which will now be concentrated more than in the past on the Soviet Union.

As far as trade with the West was concerned there was little new to be heard in East Berlin. The old idea of further development on a basis of equality was reiterated. The conclusion of trade agreements spanning several years was described as a positive and useful development.

This concept of foreign trade underlines two facts: from the economic point of view the GDR is very much in the Soviet sphere of influence and power and on the other hand as the most important trade partner of the Soviet Union the GDR has the status of "primus inter pares", which could one day pay off for the country politically speaking.

All in all the conclusion to be drawn from this party political conference is that the Ulbricht Era is past and gone. The kind of extravagance that the self-opinionated old comrade allowed himself in his dealings with the "Brother State" is not to be expected from the new GDR leadership.

At this conference Moscow gave a clear indication of who is calling the tune in the Red East now.

Christa-Helga Baehrung
(Hendelsblatt, 21 June 1971)

GDR's social conflicts hidden in a welter of words

Is it just coincidence, or is there some method behind it? The comparatively calm changeover from Ulbricht to Honecker has had consequences that were both visible and audible.

Orders have come from on high that certain tried-and-tested phrases in the battery of words produced by the agitation arsenal of the GDR mass media should be eradicated. They tended to draw a veil over social conditions rather than describing them accurately, but they were tractable.

The activists in the Socialist world have already been pacemakers for years. This was the name that *Neues Deutschland* gave in 1967 to those workers and collectivists that had a hand in everything and made impatient efforts to step up the tempo of Socialist rebuilding with the new economic system.

Obviously the pacemakers got too far away from the working-class mediocrity too quickly and the praise and rewards they received went to their heads. There shall be no more pacemakers in future.

They will be reassimilated into the *sozialistische Menschheitsgemeinschaft* (Socialist Community of Man), an expression that is strangely reminiscent of the National-Socialist *Volksgemeinschaft* (Community of Race).

The conflicts in society that are natural end which, under democratic circumstances, can be made fruitful are being hidden beneath a welter of words in order to give the impression that harmony reigns.

But the Socialist Community of Man is no more. Since all differences in class have been levelled out this name will no longer be given to GDR society.

In this a recognition of conflict, of differences of opinion in society? Or is it the preamble to a new campaign with a new drawing of lots? Some blood and thunder!

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 20 June 1971)

SED party conference gingers up old communist ideas

social crisis of capitalism that has been prophesied for decades and which would finally boot the system out the door has not been forthcoming.

For the Communists it has been necessary to adjust to the reality of the continuation of this system whose unexpected stability has been largely the outcome of its economic successes.

There were bettles to prevent sparks of the Western ideology from setting fire to the less successful Soviet system, but the litany of moribund decadent capitalism was kept up on account of repeated disappointments. Suddenly this theory has been expounded again with the greatest of emphasis.

Brezhnev's remarks on this subject were by no means of a casual nature. He gave a number of reasons why it seemed likely, from the communist point of view, that this vision of the historical dissolution of systems would be revived in our time.

These expressions such as "a severe crisis of imperialism policy" in America, "the constant factors that plague the economies", "a profound moral crisis" and "the destruction of the capitalist monetary system" and the weakness of the dollar have been banded about.

The East Bloc has gone into battle taking with it such guns as the bogey of social, national and race conflicts, mass anti-war demonstrations in America and last but by no means least the way young nation-States have turned to socialism.

This catalogue is the sum total of the renewed hope of the communist world which is by no means limited to the Soviet leadership.

Anyone who has spoken to senior officials in the German Democratic Republic will have been confronted with triumphant rhetorical questions such as: Are you not afraid that in the end your system will decay like a rotten tooth and that the revolutionary minded young and the students will fill it with dynamite?

Is it not already absolutely certain that the future belongs to Socialism?

When we consider the attitudes that are rife in our universities and the points of view expressed by a section of the educated young, and obviously not a small and silent minority, to the State, society and the economic system can we avoid asking ourselves what kind of resistance this generation would put up when Joshua from Moscow blows his horn and tries to bring down the walls of capitalism?

On the other hand there is not likely to be much joy in this direction for even the most optimistic Communists when the masses, uninfluenced by the intellectual capers and modish criticisms of the system by young leftists confirm the existing order with all its inherent failings.

A dollar crisis is not likely to destroy the democratic systems for the free enterprise economy. This is obviously very well known in Moscow.

Nevertheless the other side maintains its ideas of the approaching doom of "Capitalism" so valiently that it seems almost prepared to swear on it in a court of law.

This leads us to ask the question whether this piece of fiction is not a matter of political tactics aimed above all at the Communists' own ranks which are often caught in disarray.

An opponent whose and is in sight does not have to be run down. It is possible to conclude treaties with him, seek conciliation with him, agree with him on mutual limitations of armaments or to put it briefly come to an arrangement with him.

The revolutionary task force should be sent in elsewhere, namely to those States in the third world where the course has not yet been set.

In the setup of the present Soviet foreign policy, tactics such as this could be included without any difficulty as a kind of backing up ideology, specially when confronted with aggressive Communism à la Peking.

The interesting consequence that the West could draw from this would be that this ideologically justified offer of co-existence and political conciliation with the West would not only be made hypocritically but would contain elements of tangible political substance.

There are many other indications to suggest that this is the case.

Just how far this ideology of co-existence will go if "Capitalism" does not retreat from the field in quite the measure that is predicted, is a question that democratic States must repeatedly ask themselves for the sake of their own security — today.

Fritz Ulrich Fack
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 June 1971)

Continued from page 1

ritory from Nato countries a topic about which the Soviet Union would very much like to parley.

Having agreed not to discuss any limitation on weapons of this kind in the Salt talks with the United States the subject could be raised at either troop cut or nuclear power talks.

American government spokesmen note, however, that Netu has always responded unanimously to moves by the other side. The Soviet proposal will be considered in consultation with our Nato allies, the State Department has said.

Like the troop cut talks proposal the suggestion of a conference of the five nuclear powers also formed part of Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the Soviet Communist Party congress on 30 March.

Moscow's peace offensive

It too failed to meet with an immediate response.

Soviet and other Eastern Bloc representatives in Washington now claim that the importance of this speech has been underestimated in the West.

Reference is made to the mentions of an increase in living standards and the inadequate productivity of past Soviet methods and to the desire for close economic and technological cooperation that is to form the basis of policy towards the West.

The climate of opinion on trade with the Soviet Union has grown more liberal in Washington. The administration is

generous in granting export licences for the goods that are still subject to government approval because of their possible strategic importance.

Meck, one of the major American manufacturers of commercial vehicles, has signed a preliminary agreement on the equipment of what is planned to be a large commercial vehicle plant in the Soviet Union.

The prospects seem better than they did last year when a similar project backed by Ford's came to naught, largely because the US Defence Secretary was none too keen on the idea.

Even so, American specialists doubt whether the exchange of goods and technological know-how can ever come up to Soviet expectations.

Hans B. Meyer
(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 June 1971)

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Shortage of recruits ties in with soldiering crisis

Describing the recruitment problem in the 1970 Defence White Paper, the government stated that the armed forces suffered from a shortage of specialists just as many other branches of our prosperous industrial society.

Too few soldiers have signed on for a long period of service. The White Paper stated that a further 2,600 officers and 26,000 non-commissioned officers were needed.

This is the same problem faced by industry and other professions. But the armed forces cannot afford this shortage if they are to form an effective striking force.

The shortage is still with us. Though a number of organisational or material improvements were proposed or implemented, the shortage of manpower in the armed forces has still not been overcome.

These figures must be analysed a little. As could have been expected, the army, about 310,000 strong suffers most from the shortage of recruits. Technical units such as tank and flying groups are exceptions. With them, and with the highly technical naval and air force units, recruitment is tolerable.

But with the army and with those units of the navy and air force that are essentially responsible for security there is such a shortage of long-service soldiers that the daily round of duty for some company commanders has become a permanent adventure with an uncertain outcome.

non-commissioned officers — some of them conscripts — who have to take charge of high-grade weapon systems.

If appearances are not deceptive, this

More education for officers

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Bundeswehr sees two reasons for devoting more of its attention to the training and advance training of its long-service soldiers.

The first reason is modern technology and its demands for more specialists with more and more training.

The idea that there can be a standardised course of training for officers, or at least a large part of them, is gradually losing all logical foundation. This also erodes the idea of an officer's career as a profession.

To the armed forces today there is a growing trend to recruit the larger and larger numbers of specialists needed by signing them on for a certain period from private industry, and then allowing them to return to civilian life when the service period has ended. Proposals made by the Ellwein Commission have tried to take account of this situation.

The second reason is that of officer prestige. The officer's career must remain attractive so that the role set by defence policy can be carried out.

An officer must be able to hold his own in competition with civilian professions. A form of academic training seems to be needed, not specifically by those officers now serving but by those who will sign on for a short or long term of duty in future.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 June 1971)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

situation will deteriorate instead of improving in the next few years. Many of the longer-service non-commissioned officers will be leaving the army as their service agreements of twelve or fifteen years lapse.

There is however a negligible percentage of non-commissioned officers who will sign on again after their eight-year service period is over. At present the figure is only 2.6 per cent while ten per cent are needed.

The situation is just as gloomy where shorter-service officers are concerned. Only 47 per cent of the annual recruitment necessary to the army is covered.

School-leavers' interest in the army is minimal and can only be aroused by conducting a relatively successful recruitment campaign among conscripts who have just left school and have signed on for two years.

Even if plans to take the sting out of the permanent recruitment shortage by increasing financial incentives still further were to succeed, the aim of forming an economically viable and militarily appropriate relationship between conscripts and longer-service soldiers would still extend far into the future.

As the armed forces have been affected by recruiting worries since they were established the reasons seem to be more deep-seated than analysis of the White Paper suggests.

The recruitment problem seems to be due primarily to the crisis affecting soldiering as a profession and the causes of this are too complicated to be overcome by a series of technocratic solutions.

The crisis in soldiering is due mainly to technological developments in the field of weapons and armour, especially the methods of nuclear destruction.

As this involves a change in the concept of war — wars are prevented by deterrence — the soldier's idea of his profession is radically affected.

The changed role of the armed forces demands that the soldier or officer is avowed of his overall responsibility to society. Integration into society is not the aim but the pre-condition for the existence of armed forces in the atomic age.

This obviously demands a new way of thinking within the armed forces, not as the former staff officer responsible for a reduction in the army, ex-Brigadier General Karst put it, "ignoring the political background" or "the National Socialist regime, military training of that era is still effective and successful."

Uwe-Karsten Hepe



Professor Thomas Ellwein (left) presenting his report on the Bundeswehr to the Minister Halmut Schmidt. With the Minister is Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr Ulrich de Maizière.

But Karst is not alone in his views. Many officers stubbornly refuse to face up to the present and this is not a generation problem as the report by the thirty army captains from Unna shows.

These officers' response to current problems can be seen in their report on the "inner order" of the army. They demand that the "political and military leadership should plainly and unmistakably support German soldiering traditions."

The demand of the captains from Unna is similar: "The soldier must be recognised primarily as a fighter and not as a military technician."

It is no wonder that these demands come mainly from a section of the armed forces that has not been "affected" by technology as much as other units.

Discussions within the force on a soldier's role receive their traditionalist flavour from this source. This is dangerous even though it fails to understand the real position of the Bundeswehr as it is only proved by the negligible response and even misunderstanding not by the Unna activists in the inner forces.

much to their surprise. That is an encouraging sign. Now of all times the armed forces cannot afford to try to increase their attractiveness to potential recruits by adopting a course suggested by the traditionalists. This would mean that a large part of the reforms proposed would be condemned to failure from the very beginning.

Even now there is a danger of technocratic aspects receiving disproportionate emphasis in attempts to overcome the armed forces' structural problems.

An attractive training programme is of immense importance to the armed forces but this alone would not end the crisis in the soldiering profession. It is equally important to work a new soldiering image into officially sponsored considerations.

Uwe-Karsten Hepe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 June 1971)

More conscripts will serve less time, Minister Schmidt announces

Defence Minister Halmut Schmidt has announced in Bremen that the period of military service could be shortened if the number of conscripts were increased.

Speaking at a Social Democrat congress on armed forces policy, Schmidt said that the government would announce measures this autumn to call up 75 per cent of all those eligible, instead of the present figure of sixty per cent, and reduce the eighteen-month period of military service by two to three months.

Referring to defence issues, Schmidt

said it was regrettable that France still had not rejoined their joint defence organisation. The government was seeking close cooperation with France in this sector, he said, and had just placed two milliard Marks worth of arms orders with French firms, although West German firms too had wanted them.

The decision had not been an easy one for him, he added, but he thought that he could defend his step as being in the interest of Franco-West German cooperation.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 14 June 1971)

Ministry acts to make army more attractive

Defence Minister Halmut Schmidt told the Bundeswehr that it will have to accept "certain additional burdens" in the transitional period of a new system of training and instruction.

In the preface he wrote for the Commission report published in May 1970 he stated that the implementation of the Commission's proposals largely dependent on recruitment, financial situation and the already existing Bundeswehr institutions.

"I am convinced that the basic guidelines can and must follow the proposals of the Education Commission," he said. "But many important details must still be examined."

State Secretary Karl Wilhelm Heide drew up a four-point list for the reform:

1. An increase in effectiveness of forces;
2. An improvement in integrating of armed forces into society;
3. An increase in the attractiveness of the armed forces in order to recruit efficient and intelligent young men;
4. Aid for soldiers wishing to take up civilian profession after their service period has ended.

General Ulrich de Maizière has stated that implementing this programme of take a number of years.

State Secretary Karl Wilhelm Heide believed that an improvement in training for non-commissioned officers could be achieved in three years and while officers would have to wait a longer for their courses of study.

The Defence Ministry believes that reform of training and instruction of armed forces will cost about 2.7 million Marks over the next ten years.

Only a small percentage of this sum will be available in the defence budget. The rest will have to be covered by other sources.

State Secretary Karl Wilhelm Heide and Professor Thomas Ellwein, the head of the commission, have not mentioned how much everything will cost.

Berkhan pointed out instead that reform would be relatively cheap compared with developing or developing new weapon systems. Expenditure was lower in the first few years than in the final stage.

Defence Minister Schmidt needs the help of the Federal states in implementing the programme as they have the say in educational matters.

Berkhan said that cooperation between Schmidt and Education and Science Minister Hans Leussink was close.

(Die Welt, 16 June 1971)

Trade unions discuss their role in united Europe

Trade unions in the European Economic Community failed to take advantage of thirteen years of European unity? Many delegates attending the twelfth European Congress organised by this country's Trade Union Confederation during the Recklinghausen Festival seem to think so.

There was a good reason for choosing "The European Confederation of Free Trade Unions — a new force for Europe" as the theme for discussion by trade unionists, politicians, journalists and Common Market representatives attending the congress.

A European Trade Union Secretariat has long existed within the framework of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But it was only when the European Association was set up in 1969 that the chance to operate successfully at Common Market level was offered.

More than twelve million workers belong to the European Association through 16 affiliated unions. But its influence on the decisions made by Common Market bodies is still negligible.

Low birth rate does not endanger pensions

Pensions must be earned before they can be paid and as pensioners themselves cannot be expected to contribute any more, the contributions of people still at work — and sometimes accumulated surpluses — have to be used.

The birth rate is declining at present. The 1969 figure of 903,500 will probably have sunk to 730,000 by 1975.

The Ministry of Labour must always think in long time spans and officials there are already wondering whether the generation now being born will be able to provide sufficient cover to pay the pensions of older members of the population when they reach working age.

Experts believe that this will be the case. The number of foreign workers (that is contributors) will have increased by then from the present figure of two million to three and a half million and will later increase to five million.

But technical progress and economic productivity will also grow even if there is a low birth rate and the Federal Republic will not be dependent on foreign workers. The smaller number of children could relieve some of the strains now felt in the educational sphere. Perhaps in future there will not be so much expenditure required on schools and universities.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 June 1971)

Speaking at the fifth Congress of the Gerontological Association at Nuremberg, Josef Stingl, the President of the Federal Labour Bureau stated that old people were particularly threatened by unemployment.

"They were at a disadvantage when it came to applying for a post, as a younger man was always preferred, their professional qualifications were poor, their health, university graduates were preferred for top jobs and old people often lacked the desire and opportunity for further training."

Stingl stressed that labour exchanges should give more help. The older person's position in society must also be re-examined and redefined.

At the end of March 1971 some 28.3 per cent of the 120,514 unemployed

That was the reason why delegates in Recklinghausen unanimously demanded a trade union manifesto for work within the European Community.

Common Market Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp called upon trade unionists to cooperate with the commission in its day-to-day activities.

Whatever happened, he said, they should at least assume a European character towards the frequently obscure organisational structures and decision-making bodies in the Community.

A good discussion partner for the trade unions would be the Commission responsible for Community policy under the Treaty of Rome.

The trade unionists criticised the lack of democratic organisation in the European Community. The limited rights of the European Parliament and the negligible participation of the various labour groups in Common Market policy were two of their targets.

Theo Rasschuer, the Secretary General of the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions, regretted the fact that the unions had not been consulted on the economic and currency union.

Workers were also represented on the economic and social committees, he said. Heinz Oskar Vetter, the Chairman of the Federal Republic Trade Union Confederation, announced that talks were soon to begin with the president of the European Parliament.

Delegates at Recklinghausen agreed that the broad mass of European labour could form a new force for a democratic Europe. A third of the sixty million workers within the Common Market are organised in trade unions but they are split into a large number of political and ideological groups.

Relations with the Communist-oriented trade unions in France and Italy were also mentioned. Vetter, who is also Chairman of the European Association, said that before there was any cooperation with these unions it must be known whether they support a united Europe. Until this question was cleared up, there was unlikely to be any cooperation though he did not rule out the possibility of joint action on specific issues.

Relations with trade unions in the applicant countries of Great Britain, the Irish Republic, Denmark and Norway also pose problems. The Scandinavian trade unionists, who were not present, were violently attacked at Recklinghausen for not entering into discussions with their fellow-unionists in the Common Market. Vetter said that things would probably

change here too after the Community had been enlarged.

There was no shortage of ideas for trade union cooperation at Common Market level. The most interesting proposals, most of them put forward by Manfred Lahnstein, the head of Haferkamp's Cabinet, were the creation of greater solidarity by setting up a joint strike fund, continual cooperation between the scientific institutes of the national trade union federations, the foundation of a European Trade Union Academy, a regular exchange of views between the unions' currency experts, the establishment of permanent union delegations at the Common Market authorities in Brussels and an improvement of work done abroad by the national organisations, especially in individual spheres of the economy.

(Das Parlament, 19 June 1971)

Intuitive judgment of men can be a snare

The industrial psychology section of the West German Psychologists Association held its annual congress in Bielefeld from 7 to 9 June and paid special attention to the subject of personnel reports and promotion.

The large amount of interest shown in the congress — it was attended by 160 psychologists — was due to the fact that psychologists are asked more and more often to train people to give systematic and objective reports on their staff.

At a time when professions, jobs and occupations are being swapped more frequently than ever before, particular importance must be attached to giving objective judgments of ability and talent.

As a person's private life and that of his family depend on the judgment of a superior, no effort can be too great in ensuring that people are guarded against incorrect or superficial judgments.

The congress in Bielefeld discussed a variety of methods and already tested procedures to reveal the potential sources of error in the evaluation systems and in the figure of the judge himself.

Only when the people who have to make these judgments know how their verdict can be falsified, distorted or misinterpreted can the main features of evaluation be defined and the judgment techniques taught.

Anyone considering himself to be an intuitively good judge of men must learn that a sweeping, unconsidered and emotional judgment could prove a permanent obstacle in a person's career.

Staff reports are part of professional life. The only way of carrying out these judgments responsibly, for both the firm and staff, is to make present knowledge and experience available to all concerned. The congress of labour psychologists has certainly contributed to this.

(Die Welt, 12 June 1971)

Josef Stingl addresses Gerontological Association

msios and 15.5 per cent of the 85,958 unemployed women were between 55 and 65.

Of the people who have been unemployed for over a year 71.4 per cent of the males and 48.2 per cent of the women come from this age group.

Professor Blume from the Institute of Social Research and Social Policy in Cologne stated that the position of older workers would change as soon as the flexible retirement age were introduced.

Retraining problems and the socio-

logical questions connected with them would no longer be so acute when the worker could retire at the earliest possible opportunity.

But if workers decided to continue working until 68, difficulties would increase, Professor Blume added.

Speaking on the problems connected with setting up central retraining centres for older workers, Professor Blume stated that retraining a man once he had reached forty was considered impossible however good educational methods were.

If the mobility of older workers were to be increased, retraining must begin at the latest between the ages of thirty and forty.

In future there should be some attempt made to prepare fifty-year-old workers for the approaching difficulties of old age.

(Die Welt, 21 June 1971)

Weyer resigns

After sixteen years in office the leader of the Free Democrats in North Rhine-Westphalia, Willi Weyer, plans to stand down in 1972. Even though this intention that has been in Herr Weyer's mind for some time was made public a few days earlier than originally planned, the fact that it has been announced at the right time and takes effect in a year when there are no elections makes this resignation an example of democratic changing-of-the-guard that has been exercised all too rarely in this country.

Willi Weyer has many times shown his skill at making the right tactical manoeuvre and expounding his political knowledge, for instance on the question of property rights.

Nevertheless as the FDP changed into a reforming party he was left more and more in the background. Despite his worries and possible concern about the new direction his party is taking, the fighter Weyer has not pushed his resignation so far as to prevent himself attempting to set the signals for the next party-political conference in Freiburg according to his own ideas.

He is without doubt a father-figure for the North Rhine-Westphalian branch of FDP and has managed to hold the party together despite the National Liberal Action schism. This was largely to do with his strict discipline which was generally accepted since it was based on the strength of his personality.

When Willi Weyer leaves, the image of the liberals in the Rhine and Weser area will possibly be less clear-cut.

But Weyer's influence seems to be indispensable for the stabilisation of the SPD/FDP coalition in Düsseldorf (which only has a slim majority in the provincial assembly) and in turn the coalition government in Bonn. Weyer is among the kingmakers of the SPD/FDP coalition government.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 June 1971)

Flach hopeful

About two per cent of CDU voters could be won over to the Free Democrats at the next general election or won back after turning their backs on the party at previous elections, according to the Secretary-General designate of the FDP Karl-Hermann Flach.

Therefore, he said, it is essential to break through the deflation of the party by putting across to these people "crystal clear" social-services-policy aims and thus overcoming the undercurrent of fear that these voters have of the FDP.

At a meeting of the FDP at the Theodor Hauss Academy in Gimmersbach Karl-Hermann Flach said that at the party political conference in Freiburg in October the FDP should publish a number of definite social-services-policy decisions on matters such as the accumulation of capital wealth in private hands, worker participation in management as well as rent legislation.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 12 June 1971)

Ehmke's walks

Horst Ehmke, Minister without Portfolio in the Chancellor's Office, broke with a tradition that had grown up from the Erhard and Kiesinger eras and asked the members of his staff to take a walk in the grounds of the Palais Schaumburg during the mid-day break.

He explained: "Those who don't have any time to go for walks don't go for walks because they don't have any time. But those who do have time don't go for walks because people might think they have nothing better to do with their time."

(Hessische Post, 12 June 1971)

THE STAGE

Street theatre livens up Brunswick dramatically

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Peace reigns again in Brunswick. The younger citizens are saddened to see the hundred or so actors leave the city, but the older generation views their departure with relief. Peace has returned for the first time since Whitman.

In the past few days the theatre has come to the markets, squares, alleyways and parking lots of Brunswick on the occasion of the First International Boulevard Theatre Rendezvous.

For the five-day event the "public conscience" was tried and tested. There was plenty of encouragement to get discussion groups going and the scene was blessed with beautiful summer weather.

So lively verbal battles *à fresco* began in the public places of Brunswick. Apprentices and *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) were able to express their problems.

There were many volunteer helpers in the planning and organization of this rendezvous of pavement theatre.

It is planned to hold this event again in future years alternating with the puppet theatre week, which will take place every three years. Other aspects of the theme art and the public will be tackled in the years to come.

Three art teachers sent out the invites and theatre groups, bands and solo actors from Britain, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, many areas of the Federal Republic and West Berlin accepted.

The programme they put on was not much like many of the artificial experiments such as those of the former student-theatre, but more a series of pieces on social criticism, or alternatively,

an invitation to initiate socially critical activities.

Bourgeois audiences such as are attracted by the "culinary" theatre were not welcomed. Audience participation was what the organisers wanted. Enlightenment was the aim and not enjoyment of art for art's sake.

It is estimated that 50,000 people took part in the five-day event and an average of one Mark per capita of Brunswick's population was contributed.

The main emphasis was clearly on the continuation and liberal extension of the agit-prop movement, permeated with elements of rock-music, collages (advertising slogans and tape-recorded documentaries) and drastic, sometimes burlesque, exaggerations of situations and types in society using the barest props and papier-mâché masks.

Scenery was changed as quickly as required and most groups of actors, who were formed from ordinary people ranging from apprentice building workers to men of the cloth, appeared in several different locations in Brunswick in the course of the day, acting in various productions.

They travelled around in minibuses, packing all the props and scenery they had acquired into the back, and unpacking it equally quickly. But before they moved on from one "stage" to another they made sure they stopped and discussed matters in hand with all who were interested.

Some of the groups needed nothing more than a megaphone to make themselves heard, others did not even need that, while yet others spent hours setting up a barrage of amplifiers.

Whether the groups used complicated electronic equipment or virtually medieval, spartan props making their pro-



Berlin's Kreuzberger Street Theatre company performing in Brunswick

(Photo: Andreas Thies)

ductions as simple as in Shakespeare's day the themes they treated were similar.

They concerned problems on the factory floor, the division of property, consuming compulsion, the education of apprentices, *Gastarbeiter* and rents. Among the groups taking part were Floh de Cologne and Interpol (both from Cologne), Industrie-theater Rhein-Ruhr, Kreuzberger Strassentheater, Die Roten Steine (from Berlin), Theater K (from Munich), Kindertheater (Augsburg), Die Schweizer Katze (Hamburg), Pietbiel (from Münster) and Blomkraft from Sweden.

The groups named had the greatest success and all set to reach certain sectors of society with their performances.

In order to get closer to the group they were aiming at and to confront it directly some of the theatre groups went right into orphanages, kindergartens and trade union headquarters.

None of the performances charged prices for entry, apart from a guest performance of the Tréteaux Libres from

Geneva in and around the Stadt, whose performance stood out for the rest of the programme with its ambiguity, a mixture of Buddhism, Karl May festival, play symbolism and rumbustious theatre.

It was not so much the terrorisation of passersby that made short performances of the John Bull from England so much as the way made passersby uncertain with their thought-out actions based on behaviour psychology. Likewise the performance of the First Vienna Working Group.

Accompanied by a sing-song "schweig muss gewieken werden, schweig muss Europas Westen bleiben!" (Brunswick must be silent Germany must remain Europe's West Tormentor) they scrubbed the pavement with a brush and a bucket of water.

One performer who excited was

Continued on page 7

MUSIC

Oriental music impresses Berlin audience

The sweet soft sound of the Indian star is significant in pop music. The element's rich vibrations spread the sound of a psychedelic world of gods that is loved by a younger generation that is of civilisation.

The consumer of hallucinatory drugs will close his eyes with pleasure when he hears the un-European sound wafting into his room with its metallically clear tone.

The popularity enjoyed by Indian music in Europe and America — the truly great star-players appear in large halls with their instruments attached to amplifiers — is probably more than a sign of escapism and boredom with Western culture.

It also smacks of a return to nature. In the Indian raga art three original systems of music combine in rare purity. Melody, the rhythm of the tabla drums and improvisation are heard without being mixed with harmony or polyphony.

A sitar bases his music on a raga scale. He first takes one of the large number of possibilities offered, transforming it on his wonderfully versatile instrument into a pure, supple melody.

All his concentration goes into this process. First it is introverted, a slowly flowing stream. Then it races to an ecstatic finale to the beat of the tabla.

The individual non-tempered notes are inflected, illuminated, tinted or raised to glissandi. There is nothing constant in raga art — apart from the concentration of the player-cum-composer who fashions the ritual.

Raga becomes the symbol of complete individuality for whose continued existence the made-to-measure men of late Western civilisation are already moving to fight.

Raga is a method demonstrating the old art of mass hypnosis and does not even require a score.

Sitar-playing is only the tip of an iceberg of largely unknown styles and forms of non-European music that produce the same or a similar effect, perhaps in ballet or perhaps in musical theatre.

First of all there was only scientific interest in Europe for the variety of musical forms. It is only in recent years that people have come to hear the musical arts of Africa and the Orient.

The Berlin Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation based in Grunewald can claim most of the credit for this breakthrough.

Its series of UNESCO records covering the music of the whole world, its books and pamphlets and the organisation of concerts of oriental music will not stop

the Western influence exerted on these remote genres nor will it arrest the decline of various musical styles.

At one of the Institute's congresses a musicologist stated that the fight for original traditions was being fought in Europe and the United States. He seems to be right.

Recognition by Western listeners counteracts the threat presented by Western culture and is translated into pure self-confidence and self-awareness.

There is enough recognition, or at least interest. The attendance at the Non-European Music Week at the Academy of Arts was comparable to that of a top European orchestra.

Even the first evening with the completely unknown Turkish and Vietnamese items ended with ovations, especially for Ashik Feyzullah Cinar, a Dervish singer of the Bekashi order.

His hymns to the deity have official authority. Ashik Feyzullah Cinar is a priest, his music a canonised prayer in typical Oriental idiom. His voice is hoarse, lacking any trace of belcanto.

After listening a while, the audience becomes aware of the Levantine poetry of his music. Ancient rhapsodists may have sat as he did, declaiming their stories and teachings.

The Vietnamese followed in the shape of two musicians who, typically, live in Paris far away from the war that ruins the indigenous music.

Tran Van Khe and his son Tran Quang Hai performed finely ornamented pentatonic compositions. The influence of China could be heard. Their poems were perfect melodies, seeming aristocratic and remote.

In a duet they plucked their Dan Tranh zithers with extreme tenderness and beat the sinthien in on acrobatic series of rhythms.

But the inner meaning of Vietnamese music voids its outward face. Only its most striking phenomena reach our ears, though it is astonishing and amusing.

Arabic music was represented by a Cairo ensemble including singer Ibrahim el-Haggag. The Iraqi ensemble originally invited has not been able to come.

The Egyptians were all great virtuosos and obviously belonged to the pan-Arabic sphere of entertainment. They improvised brilliant solos on the Middle Eastern



Imrat Khan, playing the sitar at the West Berlin festival of non-European music (Photo: J. Clouere)

Maqam Mogi but as a team they seemed to produce music suggesting rather the atmosphere of a night club than a concert stage.

Nevertheless the voices that can only normally be heard singing monotonously on the radio were presented to an audience that listened conscientiously.

Enthusiasm grew on the two evenings that the Ramayana Weyang Kuli shadow theatre from Malaysia performed hour-long excerpts from the Ramayana epic. It was the first time that a dalang — a master puppet player — had ever left Malaysia to practise his arts.

The painted leather figures moved as if by magic in front of the white screen, through imaginary landscapes and black and white palaces. The audience saw a wild and disorderly comic strip from mythological times.

Sri Rama, a type of Asian Batman, fought and killed fire-breathing rhinoceroses and giant scorpions. He also fights the much more powerful looking princes who try to steal his bride Sita Dewi. There are fearful mask plays and aerial battles all accompanied by a humorous dialogue and all performed by the dalang.

Methods were primitive though colourful behind the shadow screen. There was no stage technology, only two assistants and eight musicians playing an oboe, drums and gongs of various types.

They performed their music in the same manner as the pianist of the silent cinema. The tradition they followed guaranteed a stoic-sounding music. War is war and love is love. Only when there was a fight did the rhythmic pulse race.

The two Indian concerts with sitarist Imrat Khan and the two dhrupad singers Robin Kumar and Pradip Kumar Chatrjee — they are brothers — were much more cultivated on the other hand.

Imrat Khan, whose sensitive melody today surpasses that of international star Ravi Shankar, produces the silkiest of tones from the sitar and the somewhat lower surbahar.

His alaps — the slow raga overtures — do indeed seem to come from dreams of nirvana.

Walter Bachauer
(Die Welt, 10 June 1971)

Plans for Cologne Dance Academy

This year's International Summer Dance Academy will be taking place in Mungersdorf Stadium, Cologne, from 4 to 18 July.

A competition for young choreographers has been announced. It will be the fourth held under the auspices of the Academy and the winning entries will be presented at the Cologne Schauspielhaus on 5 and 6 July.

The Academy has engaged a number of new lecturers including Eva Gezy of Bonn, Tatiana Grantzova of Paris and Scott Douglas of Amsterdam for classical ballet, Mary Hinkson for modern ballet, Bill Hamilton for Scottish folk dances and Semy Molesho for pantomime.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 1 June 1971)

Forewarned and forearmed Hof's fifth film festival still fails

David Schmid was one of the most misunderstood at the festival.

Nor could its Swiss director be exonerated of all blame. The way he portrayed the master-servant relationship was more ironic than aggressive. But the effect of it evaporated. His attitudes are throw-away, too beautiful, too perfect.

At short notice another film was crammed into the programme and this turned out to be the most superfluous of all. In *Two Virgins* John Lennon and Yoko Ono demonstrated radiant kisses under a radiant sky. The film ran for five minutes.

Another film to come to Hof from Cannes was Werner Herzog's "first perfect psychedelic film" *Fata Morgana* in three parts (*Die Schöpfung, Das Paradies, Das goldene Zeitalter*). Hof was the German premiere of this film.

As last year, *Auch Zwerge haben klein angefangen* (Midgits started in a small way, too) carried out its destructive intent of starting a bitter discussion. Some audience members accused Werner Herzog of offloading his personal problems on to them in the manner of advertising spots.

It is understandable that Herzog's natural-philosophical inner world was of very little interest to those members of

the audience who simply wanted to see some "jolly films".

As for political films in Hof, many of them could be more accurately described as politkitch. For instance *Lob des Revolutionärs* (Praise of the revolutionary) by Helmuth Wietz which had wonderfully choreographed demonstrations to its credit.

Likewise *Attentione* by the indigenous filmmakers Ulrichs Fucha and Walter List, who slaughter three chickens in a solemn ceremony, roast them and eat them, and, so as to bring home the political message, intersperse these scenes with pictures of President Nixon and clips from the Vietnam War.

Their point is that anyone who had any truck with the American President was like those chickens in believing that they would come back safe and sound once again.

On the other hand we did see some relevant political films, the most important of this kind at the moment. For instance there was *Kohlen für die Naunynstrasse* and Helma Sanders' *Industrielle Reservarmen* already shown in Oberhausen.

Die Strafexpedition (The punitive expedition) by the Hungarian Dezső Magyar, which received the Hof Film Festival short-film prize, purposely avoided the

usual Vietnam tack, and stuck to its subject, but translated it to the level of "kaiserliche und königliche" monomaniac.

Originally scarcely came into question, Ura Achernold's *Baumwipfel* was another of the popular adaptations of the *Auser* can crime story *à la R. W. Fassbinder*.

The brothers' Hsrik and Marquard were better at linking political claims with aesthetic realisation effectively. *Zi, destre, Wie starr Roland S.* (How hard S. died), *Und Eifer wird verliert, nicht stirbt und wird vergessen* (A man's wounded, dreams, dies and is forgotten) were their contributions.

Following the dangerous fifth year Hof Film festivals the question must be asked how they are to continue in the future, since there can be no question of any individual strokes of genius left to the fore this year.

The festival in the Bavarian town comes after Oberhausen and Oberhausen is able to offer nothing new.

Even the idea that the public should be informed about films that are new and to come to the normal cinema circuit is only partially realised.

Unlike in previous years films have shown reluctance to put their faces on at Hof and many of the who did turn up were not too keen to enter into discussions about their films.

One point that might prove symptomatic and not just for the Hof Film Festival is that the biggest success was achieved by the beat group Guru Guru as well as the Limpid Fuchs with their primitive eccentric music show.

Winfried Schleyer
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 June 1971)

Continued from page 6

ment was the Japanese Yoshio Nakajima who lives in Göttingen and was able to take a few exotic and banal things from a little case and transmogrify onlookers, creating poetic situations — setting up an island of calm in the midst of a tumult of shopping and traffic. Very few were able to escape the gentle penetration and intensity of his lyric Surrealism.

A mound of this rendezvous could lead other cities to follow suit. They must find places on which creation, play, discussion, exhibition and music-making can be carried out. They will become places where humans do not rush past each other, but meet each other, understand each other, produce an act.

"Ritual" art would thus probably return to its original function as a medium, and people and cities would once again become living organisms. Peter Winter
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 12 June 1971)

Penderecki's *Uirenja* premiered in Münster Cathedral

and shouting and supported by the drums. The choir members themselves beat their wooden batons together while the noise of struck stone and iron can be heard from the orchestra.

During the actual resurrection revolutionary masses seemed to flock to a central point, shouting and cheering, crying and rejoicing.

It is difficult to know whether we are at a football match or a funeral. Compared with the wild and desolate primitiveness of this music, Stravinsky's *Sacré du Printemps* is harmless. Orff's *Antigone* is like a composition for schools and the music to Penderecki's *Devils of Loudon* assumes the character of a bucolic melody.

Penderecki used the famous Easter Hymn of the Eastern Church for his work. *Christ is risen* is sung here in Greek, Latin and, most frequently, Church Slavonic.

This, the oldest form of church hymn, is supplemented by the Easter canon of John of Damascus and combined with the unchained vitality of modern music which knows no laws or questions of style.

The mixture of Early Christian force and electric musical violence, the combination of Byzantine, Slavic and Catholic aspects from over the centuries entrances the listener and only later allows him to examine the extent to which the small amount of exterior outlay lies in direct contrast to the musical and spiritual intensity.

A performance that did not take place in a church would probably lose something of its effect.

Conductor Markowski is to be admired for the way he held together the three choruses (from Cologne Radio, Hamburg Radio and the Bad Tölz boy's choir) the extraordinarily good soloists and the orchestra of the Westdeutscher Rundfunk who commissioned the work.

He controlled the ecstasy of music and sound with inspiration and surefootedness. W. E. von Lewinski
(Deutsche Zeitung, 4 June 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Reorganised German studies to keep up with our changing times

DIE ZEIT

There was almost a nasty accident at the International Seminar for German Teachers arranged by the Goethe Institute in March 1970.

A group of teachers had only just entered the new building housing the department of literature at Munich University when a loud cry from high up the stairwell was heard.

A fat leather briefcase fell at the feet of the startled educationalists and its contents were strewn all over the floor as it hit the ground.

A number of notebooks lay on the tiles of the entrance hall along with a thin red book entitled *Hölderlin and the French Revolution* and several comics of the penny dreadful style that can be bought at any newsstand.

The student who had been childishly jostling one of his friends high up in the building came rushing down the stairs and casually collected everything together again. Hölderlin, the revolutionary, disappeared between notebooks and Donald Duck.

The amazed German teachers were quick to comment on how symbolic the contents of the student's briefcase were for the subject they were about to discuss.

Hölderlin and the French Revolution by the Parisian Pierre Bertaux is not an indication of the susceptibility of many German scholars to left-wing ideologies. Bertaux, together with many other literary scientists, has only departed from the normal one-sided aesthetic interpretation of literature and returned to its social reality.

Hölderlin, long celebrated as a poet of pure inwardness or *Innerlichkeit*, did not write in an aesthetic ivory tower but began his creative activity when sharing student lodgings with Hegel and Schelling in Tübingen, and extolling the French Revolution as an act and message of civic liberty.

German studies and literature in general have made this a new starting point and probe the social reality forming a background to authors and their works.

The return of German studies to the facts of past epochs does not only result in changes when historical texts are being read however.

When the Munich student casually picked up his comics as leisure time reading material along with his demanding Hölderlin book he was admitting frankly a fact painstakingly ignored in the past — light entertaining reading is not only sought after by the "uneducated".

Comics and crime stories are read everywhere and by everybody. The millions of illustrated magazines and pop records, the popular radio and television shows entertain a wide audience and have long belonged to the leisure time activities of all social groups.

German teaching based on the traditional aesthetic ideals of "great" literature — faced this trend for a long time without knowing what to do about it.

At first German teachers acted as if there were no mass media. Their elitist jargon dissociated itself from the comprehensible language of journalists and writers.

Any professor who wrote a journalist's style and thus achieved high sales of his work was apt to be dismissed as a

humbug. After all, anything that was interesting or comprehensible was thought of as unscientific.

Literature was the domain of an elitist audience of aesthetes. It was the sin of German teachers to help educate people to find pleasure in this literature.

In the mid-fifties a number of educationalists took notice of the new literary forms of the radio play and radio feature. At the beginning of the sixties there were numerous attempts to include films and television in literature studies.

Writers themselves appeared in these films, there were reviews of their books, discussions of their work or a portrait of the authors.

The German teachers involved in these experiments saw these films as part of literary life like the expansion of the traditional stage play by new forms such as the radio play and television film produced by technical means.

Aesthetic ideals — In this case the sense of the dramatic — may have predominated at first but in the course of time the social criticism and political aspects of the information provided by the mass media have become plain.

This flood of information swamps its audience, treating it as an anonymous mass. It reaches the young and fascinates children.

The most astonishing rubbish was written about the effects of the media on children though few people made a serious attempt to turn the modern methods of mass communication into a method of school education.

Newspaper articles appeared in books concerned with language studies only as an example of what good literature is not. Innocent football reporters were attacked for not writing like Thomas Mann. But

The three-stream school system of high, intermediate and elementary school was stable in the Federal Republic up to 1960 — as opposed to many other countries.

Demand for an extension of school attendance and as many opportunities for talent as possible were only accepted after considerable delay.

All this was due to the categorical statements made by a number of influential scientists on the question of talent potential.

These researchers took the results of a large number of research projects and maintained that only a small percentage of children were intelligent enough to pass the Abitur or school-leaving examination. One well-known psychiatrist mentioned the figure of five per cent.

The same psychiatrist claimed that no more than ten per cent were good enough for the intermediate examination. The vast majority of children were only good enough for an elementary school education, he said.

The population's intelligence structure was locked upon as unchanging even though some researchers did proclaim a socio-biological decline. The belief that a decline in talent was in progress between the generations has now been clearly refuted.

Along with their findings these researchers provided their own educational recommendations. They cursed the "sin committed on the young blood of the nation" by people wanting to give these "simple and honest children" a better education, and they cursed the idea of social services and welfare state.

They cursed the idea of a broad

now the more sensible question is being asked of what distinguishes a bad sports report from a good one.

Nowadays people are trying to describe the varying forms of communication. They no longer attack the media-ninners but examine what they produce.

Stupid essay subjects such as "The curse or blessing of radio and television" are no longer set. There are already textbooks on the dramatic theory of radio plays and television films and written so that ten-year-olds can understand. Many radio plays have also been published in school editions.

Textbooks have appeared about daily newspapers, advertising, the language of pop music, films and pornography. A "Dictionary of Audio-Visual Educational Methods" gives advice on how technical methods can be used to provide better teaching.

Enlarging the traditional idea of literature is of importance in German studies' new role as part of political education.

The guidelines for fifth and sixth year German teaching in Schleswig-Holstein state plainly and concisely: "In literature and media studies it is particularly important that the teacher does not adopt a moralising attitude... Every pupil should read, hear and see what he wants though he should understand what he is reading, hearing and seeing."

Teachers are not only making contact with the actual linguistic world of their pupils, enabling them to have a completely different psychological and educational influence.

The expanded concept of literature also restores some meaning to the concept of great literature in the aesthetic sense of the term.

Education does not happen in the school alone

promotion of talent whereby the "failures", the "worthless" or "those unendowed by nature" would be pushed or provided with the appearance of talent.

In short, they painted a "gloomy picture of the educational ability of the younger generation", as Caspar Kuhlman puts it in his book *School Reform within the Social Process* issued by the Max Planck Society for Educational Research and published by Ernst Klett of Stuttgart.

Researchers abroad — as well as researchers from this country — had already shown the extent to which talent was a product of living conditions and education. School attendance often showed how fragile the allegedly "naturally endowed" limits set on talent actually were.

But conservative educational theorists were still believed when they claimed that learning ability depended on hereditary factors and that the inherited biological "make-up" of the population ruled out further education for the vast majority of the young.

Claims to biological validity made these "research findings" almost irrefutable and they assumed the character of a law of nature.

But a critical examination will show that the conditions of research, the analysis of the findings and, in some cases, the methods used by the researchers are inadequate.

In the past authors both modern and classical tended to suffocate in the narrowness of traditional German literature. Today they can be rediscovered as normative standard can be compared to the everyday literature of commerce.

Only when a pupil learns to understand and appreciate the quality of a work prepared for immediate consumption and thus quickly phrased will he be able to recognise the completely different intensity of texts written with a degree of art.

Pop songs, comics, newspapers, features and television films — the banal Goethe and Hölderlin syllabus. Only when all media of information and communication are considered will a pupil be able to take value to a particular text.

Now, in 1971, German teachers stand at a point where they should be ages ago — in the social life of their pupils and their age.

More school leavers continue their studies

Some 87 per cent of senior high pupils in the Federal Republic, including West Berlin, plan to go to university, a survey conducted for the Commission for Educational Planning by the Federal Statistics Office and local bodies reveals.

The survey was conducted at 87,349 pupils in the final year of school. The results showed that 85 per cent of the boys and 87.8 per cent of the girls wanted to go on to study. These were still undecided.

Of this total 24,799 want to go to teach — 37.8 per cent of them want to take a post in an elementary or secondary school, 24.1 per cent in an intermediate school, 34.9 per cent in high schools and 3.2 per cent in vocational colleges.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 June 1971)

The main thing was that there was an intelligence pyramid with a small number of elite at the top and a large base of untalented people was based on the idea of a social order resembling a pyramid and the education system tripartite, with a small number of elite at the top, a somewhat larger number of middle-grade executives in the middle and, at the bottom, a large number of people in low-grade jobs who had little education apart from learning to read and write.

Science has now abandoned this idea of belief. The "Talent and Learning" report drawn up for the Education Council in 1968 shows that the importance of innate talents and the maturing process was greatly overestimated.

The social position of the young, upbringing, the educational methods used and the quality of teaching far more decisive for the educational opportunities of children.

Educational policy must therefore improve these basic conditions. Educational methods must be made more sensible. Living conditions must be improved.

Socially underprivileged children must be helped before starting to attend school and must be encouraged to learn to develop talents of their own. There must be a variety of practical courses in education and the structure of school and organisation of teaching must be practical.

"The genetic potential of the individual and the species must be greater than that brought out," the Education Council report states.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 12 June 1971)

MEDICINE

Researchers develop artificial hearts to overcome rejection problems

Heart transplants have always made headline news but there has never been the success hoped for. The transplant heart has always been rejected by the patient's organism, often within a matter of months.

Surgeons have still found no way of overcoming the body's defence mechanisms and that is why they are now concentrating on the development of an artificial heart.

Twenty research teams throughout the world are reported to be working on schemes of this type at present. But it is still impossible to say if and when artificial hearts will be able to lengthen the life span of heart patients.

The heart is the simplest organ in the body. Basically it is no more than two pumps and a motor. Engineers would therefore find it easy to construct an artificial heart.

Speaking at the 1971 Engineering Congress in Mainz, Dr F. Wallner of Berlin stated that the two pumps and the motor must be kept apart when constructing an artificial heart.

Although the pumps' output is at most three watts, researchers have still been unable to construct a similar pump system as that of the heart which, together with its motor, is no bigger than the natural organ.

The system developed by a research team at Berlin's Westend Hospital consists of two pumps driven by a motor outside of the body.

A neutral gas is forced through two tubes into the half of each pump chamber that is cut off from the blood by a membrane. The blood is thus ejected from the pump.

New blood is sucked into the pump when the gas is withdrawn. The apparatus can be controlled in such a way that it pumps blood through the body at the same rate as a natural heart.

The medical and technical problems of the artificial heart lie in the form and construction of the two ventricles, the pump valves and in the points of contact between the heart apparatus and the natural blood vessels.

Care must also be taken that the blood corpuscles are not crushed by the mechanical parts of the pump. Finally, the synthetic material used could also change the nature of the blood through constant contact.

The Berlin team avoided the blood being damaged in this way by employing an extremely refined method. The interior surfaces of the artificial heart were made so rough that the blood formed a type of skin on the synthetic material.

This natural layer formed by the organism is no longer felt by the blood to be alien. Artificial hearts constructed in this way functioned well for six months when given to calves.

But after this period the inner skin had grown so thick that the chambers of the pump were so small that the apparatus could no longer function properly. The problem is to allow the skin to form at first and then to stop it growing any more.

Dr Wallner believes that solving these predominantly biological and chemical problems will also help to clear up questions of power and control.

In systems developed up to now all equipment including the motor for the two pumps, the source of energy and the controls have been outside the patient's body, ruling out all movement.

The motor and the controls have not yet been made so small that they can be planted in the body in place of the natural heart.

Energy supply also presents difficulties.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 June 1971)

portable battery-powered electrocardiogram (left) and the heart pump, developed by Dr H. J. van Jura of West German Medical Congress.

(Photos: AP)



Child aid

In a few months a wheel-chair will be marketed in Cologne especially designed for children. The chair will be equally serviceable for armless and legless children. It will be driven by batteries. It was designed by Cologne engineer Hainz Welner.

(Photo: F. W. Holubovsky)

Berlin doctor develops inductive energy source for artificial hearts

Dr Hans-Jürgen van Jura recently invited the press to his Research Laboratory for Medical Electronics in the Berlin suburb of Dahlem to see a new method of supplying artificial hearts with energy.

The equipment consists basically of a high frequency transmitter supplying energy by means of an induction current from outside the body to the motor driving the artificial heart.

In the more or less distant future people will be able to live a comparatively full life with an artificial heart allowing them complete freedom of movement. At the present state of development artificial hearts are connected with a compressed air system, forcing patients to stay in their hospital beds.

Dr van Jura, famous because of the heart pacemaker he developed that could be recharged without using any wires, explained that he had taken opportunity of the Twentieth Congress for Further Medical Training held in the city to introduce his new equipment.

During a live television transmission from the Free University's Westend Hospital that showed a sheep receiving an artificial heart, Professor Emil Sebastian

Bücherl, the head of the research and operation team, spoke of the difficulties involved in developing an artificial heart with its own source of energy.

He mentioned experiments with isotope batteries in the United States and the work going on there into an energy system contained in the body and charged from outside by induction methods.

Dr van Jura told reporters that there was no need for Professor Bücherl and his team to approach the Americans as he was willing to place his idea at their disposal. Though his idea had been developed in connection with heart pacemakers, it was based on the same principle.

His equipment consists of a high frequency transmitter with a present output of five watts that is placed on the skin and induces electrical energy together with a coil implanted in the artificial heart. The energy produced is enough to run a 0.2 watt motor in the organism.

Dr van Jura added that with an artificial heart fifty watts were required for the transmitter and two watts for the pump. Engineers should however find little difficulty in constructing a low-price device of this strength would be no bigger or heavier than his present equipment which weighed 28 grams and was no bigger than the palm of his hand.

The advantage of this inductive electricity supply was that the patient could move about freely. At home the transmitter could be connected with the mains and outside with a battery.

As well as this there is the possibility of equipping the artificial heart with a rechargeable miniature accumulator. The patient could then lay his transmitter aside and walk about for about an hour a day like a normal person with a healthy heart.

Professor Bücherl and his team have shown considerable interest in the developments. Dr van Jura said but had been kept away from the press demonstration by animal experiments being carried out at the same time.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 15 June 1971)



FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Proposed tax reforms do not go far enough

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Who likes paying taxes? Mistrust towards any State is built up on such painful experiences. Once it was princes who levied their dues, then came the democracies, but, whoever is in power, it is the man in the street who has to pay up.

When the German Reich was established the State spent about two Marks per capita of the population per annum. Today the figure is about 1,400 Marks, and to the taxpayers' everlasting regret this money is always used in the best possible way.

But there is the other side of the coin. The State system today is far more complicated than ever before and dogged by greater demands that are made on it. It is not like the days of the prophet Mohammed. In those days the exchequer was supplied with one tenth of the harvest and at the end of the year any surplus was divided up among the faithful. Today it is a question of bureaucrats tightening their belts and saving.

Nothing is simple about the present tax system. For a start the State coffers are filled from more than fifty vastly different sources, playing-cards and liquor licences for instance. Apart from Bonn, the Federal states and the local governments have to have their slice of the cake as well.

The present tax system does not deserve to be called a "system" at all. It is just a conglomeration. The general good and welfare of the country depend on public expenditure, as does the development of each individual, in a way that scarcely compares with the days when public expenditure hardly went further than paying the watchman and the gendarme.

Nobody likes paying taxes. But people would learn to realise better how essential this unpleasant task is if three requirements were fulfilled. Firstly every Mark that is paid in taxes should be wisely spent, secondly there should be a just tax system and thirdly the whole tax system should be clearer and easier to understand. Justice and simplicity in taxation are of course mutually exclusive. The more one tries to make the tax system just, the more complicated the whole business becomes.

Can the Bonn government proposals that have been put forward, and which at the moment only have a peripheral value for the forthcoming negotiations, meet these criteria?

Do they also conform to the aim that one of the founders of modern financial science Adolph Wagner (1835-1917) had in mind when he said that the main aim of taxation apart from bringing in revenue for the State was to reform the division of incomes?

This aim is served by the principle of progressive income tax, which the Prussian minister Freiherr von und zum Stein wanted to introduce as long ago as the early nineteenth century.

The first man to have success in this direction was Johannes von Miquel, Reich Finance Minister, one hundred years later. Since then there has been progression with the aim of dividing up wealth more fairly.

The names of conservative politicians who were expert of finances and likewise the name of Matthias Erzberger, the Finance Minister of the Weimar Republic,

are concrete proof of the fact that an optimum tax system is not just a pipe-dream. Chancellor Brandt announced a reform of the fiscal system in his statement of government policy in 1969, claiming that he would base this reform on the principles of the constitutional social welfare State. No democratically elected government today can by-pass this.

But no one is leaping around for joy at the latest tax reform proposals despite the packet of changes to the tax system that they involve. Anyway, is this the intention? Is it not better to proceed cautiously rather than going off with a bang?

The present proposals will bring more or less valuable improvements to the fiscal system, but nothing like sweeping reforms. They are marked with the stamp of compromise on all sides.

Certainly the average wage-earner will have his burden lightened with the introduction of lower wages and income taxes (Lohnsteuer und Einkommensteuer) and a doubled tax-free allowance, unified systems of savings encouragement and other measures.

But his burden will be increased when value added tax goes up and this will by no means be equalled out by the fact that the half-rate VAT (on basic foodstuffs for instance) will remain unchanged.

But contradictions of this kind must come from reform proposals which even intend to remove some of the tax burden from taxpayers. Income tax for married couples for childless married men (which are, as a general rule, gross incomes of around 60,000 Marks) without losing one Mark in revenue.

An actual, and not a virtual, lessening of the burden on lower and middle incomes would have been the more justifiable middle course, but of course it would have been wrong to put such high tax rates on the highest incomes that all initiatives for harder work and greater earnings in the super tax bracket were crushed and the top earners started looking for tax dodges.

One fact that even the victorious powers after the last War had to take into account was that 95-per-cent taxation, which was then imposed on incomes of more than 60,000 Marks, brought very little in the way of revenue. Why would anyone bother to work harder for an extra thousand Marks if all he received of it were fifty?

There were similar hidden dangers in a

kind of crippling tax on inheritances that the extreme left would have liked to see introduced. This would have been tantamount to compulsory confiscation.

From this point of view the present tax proposals put forward by the Willy Brandt government must be praised for their moderation. They make things easier for inheritors of small and moderate fortunes, putting an extra burden of taxation on the inheritance of large sums and inheritances by distant relatives.

The present tax proposals are filled with goodwill to all men, but are not sweeping reforms for precisely this reason. The government has given up any idea of improving the world, in favour of gentle measures.

In many respects, however, the new proposals not only fail to go far enough, but also lead in the wrong direction. I am referring to special privileges. A cut in the level of tax exemption on life insurances is questionable, since it is detrimental to individual old-age provision plans.

It is wrong to keep the standard level of tax exemption per kilometre for travel to the place of work. Former Finance Minister Alex Möller had a better suggestion, namely that there should be a standardised amount of tax relief for all, no matter where they had to travel to work.

Also the government is doing too little by way of repealing old tax concessions and those that were introduced by Finance Minister Fritz Schäffer in the years following 1945.

Many of these were justified in their day, but are now anachronistic. There were tax exemptions to be claimed for house-building, ship-building, air travel, development aid projects and others that came from the days of Imperial Germany, such as exemptions for riding-horses and salt for pickling herrings!

The amount of money involved in these tax concessions is estimated to be something like fifteen thousand million Marks, a tidy sum, and although not all of it could be recovered for tax purposes a reform of these concessions would free a large reserve of money which would allow the government to take some of the tax pressure off the ordinary men in the street. Alternatively the extra money levied could be used to carry out some of the reforms which the government longs to make but cannot finance.

There is also a reservoir to be found in the delayed payment of income tax and corporation tax, while the taxman has long been having to juggle around with interest rates - interest on unpaid taxes, interest on excess tax payments. Thousands of millions come and go in this manner at a great pace.

These tax proposals are not far-reaching. They will not achieve a tax system that is fair, easy to understand, and which divides up earnings justly (future earnings, of course; current earnings must not be touched).

Franz Thoma
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 June 1971)

Demands for more legal protection for the taxpayer

Industry has called for more protection in law for the taxpayer when tax reform legislation is introduced. The leading employers associations have communicated with the finance committees of the Bundestag claiming that a number of points in the draft for tax reform in 1974 leave room for improvement.

They suggest that the financial administrators should release more binding information. For the taxpayer the right to carry out market research should be granted. The intolerable proliferation of "means tests" for company taxes, wages taxes and social security contributions should be cut back.

Furthermore, it is suggested, transactions subject to taxation should be made in arrears even if supplementary

when the political parties have concluded new tax laws.

The employers associations suggest that regulations governing accounting and the preservation of business documents should be brought up to date with the age of computers.

The obligatory period of preservation of business letters, orders and other trade documents should be cut from the present seven years to a general level of five years.

The employers associations also consider that charging interest on overdue taxes at the current market rate is unjust since it is almost impossible to administer and creates an icy climate between the auditor and the taxpayer.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1971)

Economy lives up, Bundesbank maintains

A glance at the economic situation shows a marked rise in activity again, according to the latest published by the Bundesbank.

The report states that in the months there has been a tendency for economic factors to aim for a more stable growth. Industry has started moving away from the sluggish period. And industry is more optimistic about the economic cycle than we have.

Overall demand is beginning to pick up again although this has not been reflected in the various branches of industry with intensity. Expenditure by the consumer and public expenditure all have gone up since the beginning of the year. Investments, too, in the spheres have gone up in the same period.

Incoming orders from this country have increased in the first half of the year. In addition, more there was a continued increase from abroad at about the same rate.

The Federal Republic economy is showing a marked rise in activity again, according to the Bundesbank, recent new expansive impulses in the

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

sector in the months prior to the counteract falling profits.

Recent brightening up of the investment goods industry is explained by the Bundesbank as being due to the fiscal situation, which favours investment now that the depreciation (tax concessions on investment) has been reintroduced.

Another encouraging factor is industrial sources are feeding more profit prospects. Growth in profits situation in West Germany has not worsened at all in the quarter of this year.

This development has been largely about largely by the opportunities offered companies to take out loans fairly cheaply. It is interesting to note the connection with this that in the months prior to the counteract falling profits.

Half of the total credit raised was for lower rates of the Eurodollar market, thus escaped completely the squeeze that has been applied to the country.

This robbed the Bundesbank of weapons that could have helped dampen down the inflationary tendency in this country since it did not neglect its duty of intervention on the dollar.

This latest Bundesbank monthly calls the efforts to check inflation "labour of Hercules". All attempts to make credit harder to obtain in the Federal Republic have led to a money coming in from abroad and investors hoping to cash in on the interest rates.

The beginnings of a calming down of the overheated industrial sector of the economy which made themselves felt at the end of last year did not come to fruition.

Producer prices in industry and in the shops went up in the early months of this year. These are all clear indications for the Bundesbank that industry in this country is getting busy again.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 16 June 1971)

BUSINESS

Motor industry survives and thrives despite pessimistic forecasts

DIE ZEITUNG

tion and demand at the same high level and slighter increase rates.

The pessimism of the Motor Manufacturers Association (VDA) is basically a definition of the longed-for normalisation. Accordingly in January 1971 VDA President Heinrich von Brunn said that he was expecting a stagnation in car production. It would even be a blessing if it brought normality with it, he added.

And Achim Diekmann, the VDA Business Manager, said at the same time that it had become too expensive to boost productivity with overtime. A normalisation of the industrial sector of the economy would give the car industry satisfactory marketing potential and a more solid basis for exports.

It is no wonder that the VDA has warned against giving an early boost to get the economic wheels turning again after the cooling-down process of the last boom.

The long-term tasks of the motor industry could only be disrupted by a period of hectic excessive demand, which would prove expensive. When the conveyor belts are running red-hot and production capacity is used to the utmost, production costs rise out of all proportion.

It is no wonder that when the factories introduce an economy drive this year they want to cut out overtime and special shiftwork wherever possible. The boom in the motor industry has furthermore stimulated the overall economy, as excessive demand in any major industry heats up the whole economy. But overall economic developments in recent years have robbed the car industry of any joy in booming business.

In 1968 and early 1969 the equation

was: increased turnover = increased profits. By the autumn of 1969 this equation was: overheated economy = revaluation. Then the unions pressed for extraordinary increases to wages and salaries, and got them. Costs for materials rose steeply and the equation was knocked off balance. Now increased turnover = decreased profits. In the case of Volkswagen, profits were cut by as much as forty per cent.

Reaction from the industry came at the end of 1969 - up went prices. Since then VW and Daimler have had to correct their price tags three times. But the high profits of previous years will not be returning in 1971.

Price increases have nasty side-effects. In the car industry they are almost political prices. When car prices go up criticism is levelled from all sides. This country's car trade with the rest of the world is a matter of pride. Our car market is one of the world's toughest markets.

Revaluation of the Mark and increased prices have given the French car manufacturers an advantage. Their sales here have profited and German car sales abroad have taken a knock. The export quota dropped from 62 per cent in 1968 to 55 per cent in 1970.

This trend could be fatal. The car industry reckons that saturation point will have been reached by 1980 by which time there will be no new motorists, but simply older motorists replacing their old cars. Then the most important market for mass production will be the export trade.

However comprehensible the evil mood of car industry bosses may be about the "eternal boom" and however much they may complain about cuts in profits, the German automobile business is not in dire straits.

Even in the "catastrophic year" 1970 yield on turnover hardly ever dropped below eight per cent, so cars remain good business. Investment plans involving thousands of millions of Marks show a good deal of optimism in the industry.

Prognoses following the surprisingly

VDA suggests ways to keep traffic rolling

use the capacity of the streets already in existence to its best advantage. A lot of ground can be gained in this direction with the help of technical experts as well as organisers.

The "productivity" of a road in terms of getting the cars and lorries through can be ameliorated by as much as three to five per cent by using traffic lights that have been specially geared to the flow of traffic, an experiment that has already been tried with success in West Berlin, Hamburg and Frankfurt.

A further improvement could be achieved by the introduction of adjustable road signs that can be altered to meet changing traffic requirements at various hours of the day, on differing days of the week etcetera. For instance on two-lane roads such adjustable signs could be used to show the correct speed at which traffic should be proceeding on each lane.

And another measure to speed the flow of traffic would be to introduce alternating lanes on the roads so that there is an extra carriageway for the heavier flow of traffic, for instance into towns in the morning rush hours and out of them in the evening.

The VDA suggests that adjustable road

signs should be introduced gradually in stages. In the first stage central offices would be set up for the control of the adjustable traffic signs. They would liaise with the police and use television cameras to check the state of traffic so that the signs could be regulated accordingly. These central observation offices would be set up at critical traffic points.

In the second stage it would be possible to control the signs automatically. This could be achieved by setting up electronic data-processing equipment which would gauge the volume and flow of traffic with the aid of car counting devices and photo-electric eyes.

In addition to these measures to keep the traffic flowing freely there must be a system to guide the motorist to free parking places when he has arrived at his destination, to put an end to the time-wasting and frustration that are caused by parking problems.

One feasible method would be an illuminated traffic sign on the periphery of towns showing which parking lots still had plenty of free space so that the incoming motorist would know which part of town to head for. The days when

buoyant start to 1971 show more optimism than pessimism. The financial head of Fords, Klaus B. Amdiek is "reserved about sales potential", expects modest sales on the home market, "not just about the same level as last year" and an increase in production of in all three per cent. For his own company, however, Herr Amdiek has a different tale to tell - an expected increase in sales of fifteen per cent.

Volkswagen boss Kurt Lotz is expecting a growth in VW productivity of five to seven per cent in 1971.

And at BMW "there is a certain amount of optimism" when sizing up the future. It is aimed to increase productivity by seven per cent.

All motor manufacturers are agreed, however, that they do not want to see another revaluation of the Mark, come what may.

Kurt Lotz said: "If anyone should come up with the idea of revaluing the Mark in the foreseeable future then we can see no further hope of carrying on our business without running irresponsible risks".

The horror that thoughts of a new revaluation of the Mark invoke is understandable. If there should be a sudden economic reversal in this country this would give rise to a crisis on the sales side. In such a case industry normally has the old standby, the export market, but if revaluation has made German goods that much dearer this escape hatch will be locked, bolted and barred.

It is for this reason that motor manufacturers have gone all out to make breakthroughs in precisely this direction.

Following the revaluation of 1969 German cars were for a certain period of time and in certain countries right out of the market. They had become too expensive and motorists looked elsewhere.

But by the end of 1970 the effect of this had been nullified. In Britain, France and the United States of America inflation made the prices of home produced cars just as high as those of West German cars.

In recent months Volkswagen has had room for manoeuvre to raise prices three times in Britain.

And in America, although the price of the Beetle has gone up immensely, demand for it far exceeds supply.

Rolf Diekhof
(Die Zeit, 11 June 1971)

inflexible "P" signs were adequate to show the way to a sure parking space area gone.

This development would culminate in programmed driving.

It could work out something like this: a driver could feed his desired destination into a gadget on the dashboard rather like a car radio. He would press some buttons and clock up a code number.

At the next corner a pickup would flash the position and destination of the car to the central office. There the electronic data-processing equipment would work out the destination of this and other cars as well as the traffic situation in general and devise the best route for the cars to take.

A large city that wanted to introduce this programmed driving scheme would have to spend something like one and a half million Marks on the equipment. And the biggest cities would probably find their bill coming to anything up to ten million Marks.

Nevertheless if a scheme such as this is introduced in the Federal Republic or, better still, all over Europe it is essential that the scheme be standardised in every city, so that the long-suffering motorist is not forced to buy a variety of gadgets for the different cities' programmed driving schemes.

The VDA estimates that it would take between five and fifteen years to set up such a system. In its opinion a system of

Continued on page 12

TECHNOLOGY

Motor vehicles powered by magnetism— thanks to superconductivity

DIE WELT

Superconductivity is the apple of a high-tenacity physicist's eye. Where electric power needs transporting or powerful magnetic fields are required cold and superconductivity solve hitherto insuperable problems.

Already there are large-scale technological projects in progress that for the time being rely on conventionally-generated magnetic fields but are designed solely with the subsequent use of superconductivity in mind.

The pilot vehicle for magnetic field driving and linear motor propulsion, a major development recently unveiled in Munich, is one such project.

The present vehicle is the result of two and a half years' development and was built by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blom. It is so far the only passenger transport vehicle in existence that is worked and propelled exclusively by magnetic fields.

Even though the magnetic fields do no work in the strict physical sense of the word a considerable amount of electric power is, oddly enough, needed to maintain them. Almost all of this additional current is converted into useless heat that is passed on to the immediate surroundings.

Scientists and engineers have long been on the lookout for a way of generating controlled magnetic fields that do not depend on a powerful input of electric current to keep going.

Now even a child knows, though he may not necessarily be consciously aware of the fact, that the problem can in principle be solved. A common or garden 'kiddies' magnet is an example of loss-free magnetism.

Atomic currents, maintained by friction-free orbiting electrons, create microscopic magnetic fields that are permanent in the case of ferromagnetic metals such as iron, nickel and cobalt.

There is a limit to the power of magnetic fields generated in this way. The limit is reached when all elementary particles functioning as magnets are poled in the same way. As far as magnetism is concerned the metal is then saturated.

The fields needed for particle accelerators and magnetically-powered vehicles cannot be generated by means of permanent magnets of any reasonable size. Besides, it is virtually impossible to

regulate permanent, conventional magnets either swiftly or accurately, let alone to switch them off.

It has been known since 1820, however, that magnetic fields can be generated by means of microscopic currents. Unfortunately, though, they encounter friction in metallic conductors.

The continual clashes between conductive electrons and the metal atoms create such resistance that power can only be maintained by a continual supply of current from outside.

The electric power that maintains the current is converted exclusively into heat. This is all to the good in heaters and irons but in cables and electromotors it is superfluous, harmful and expensive.

Sixty years ago the phenomenon of superconductivity was discovered. At temperatures of less than ten degrees on the Kelvin scale (near absolute zero)

the specific resistance of a number of metals suddenly drops to virtually nil.

Resistance jumps of more than one to the power of sixteen have been observed. This, for instance, means that all but a ten billionth of the current stays in circulation and next to none is lost due to resistance.

Superconductivity is the result of the complex interaction of heat waves and de Broglie waves (phonons and electrons). The theory is mathematically complex and still not perfect in detail but scientific use of the phenomenon proceeds apace.

Both the two-mile linear accelerator in Stanford and the CERN II synchrotron under construction near Geneva will be equipped in the foreseeable future with superconductive hollow conductors and electromagnets respectively.

At Karlsruhe nuclear research centre a new low-temperature unit was recently

Hard on the heels of economic nuclear fusion

Solar Fire on Earth was the title Ernst von Kluge chose for a recent TV programme on the problems of controlled nuclear fusion. The programme was filmed at the Institute of Plasma Physics at Garching, near Munich.

At Garching Professor Arnulf Schüster and some 200 associates are involved in an attempt to master the physical process that has kept the Sun shining for billions of years and powers the hydrogen bomb.

Controlled fusion of deuterium (heavy water) nuclei to form helium nuclei would seem to be the only source of energy at present known to mankind that is likely to meet the booming demand for electric power for an unlimited period of time.

The seven seas have virtually unlimited reserves of heavy water, the fuel required. Construction of a nuclear fusion reactor is not planned for the foreseeable future, though, and there is as yet no way of telling whether controlled nuclear fusion will ever be an economic proposition.

Temperatures of a hundred million degrees centigrade and more are an essential prerequisite if nuclear fusion is ever to be triggered off.

Considerable progress has been made in the field of high-temperature plasma physics, the science of heating ionised gases to the temperatures in question, but there is still no container capable of holding superheated plasma for any length of time.

The only material that will not vanish in this infernal heat is a magnetic field. Superheated plasma is, as it were, too hot to handle and magnetic fields are, in every sense of the word, indestructible. Containing high-temperature plasma for even a fraction of a second is an infinitely difficult task.

If work on nuclear fusion proves to no avail then plasma dynamics are bound to have been the chief obstacle. There are grounds for hope nonetheless. The latest success has been achieved in this country. Scientists at Jülich nuclear research centre have succeeded in heating heavy hy-

drogen plasma in a cylinder measuring 40 centimetres in diameter. They catch the substances that are to be heated off, in this case droplets of petrol or diesel oil.

With the aid of an ultra-fast magnetic field the plasma was heated for a millionth of a second. Temperatures of sixty million degrees have been reached in similar experiments elsewhere, at Garching, for instance. The low-cost is the most notable factor in the Jülich experiment.

There are reasons to hope that containment of high-temperature plasma for the longer periods of time needed for nuclear fusion may also prove far less expensive.

It would be a mistake to conclude that nuclear fusion is as good as solved. Problems enough remain. But controlled nuclear fusion no longer appears a utopian prospect.

Will Man one day be able to dispose of the tremendous reserves of energy of seven seas? Nature resists but resistance is decreasing. Klaus Bärner (Die Welt, 21 June 1971)

It is superconductivity that makes it possible.

Active carbon, a material that has proved its worth as an absorbent and filter agent, is an effective means of counteracting the problem.

Active carbon is highly porous pure carbon consisting of particles with a large surface area in relation to overall density. They catch the substances that are to be filtered off, in this case droplets of petrol or diesel oil.

Depussa of Wolfgang, near Hanau, manufacturers of active carbon, have joined forces with the motor industry to develop an efficient protective system based on their raw material.

Three factors needed first to be clarified. The low-cost is the most notable factor in the Jülich experiment.

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TECHNOLOGY

Benzine vapour is an additional pollution hazard

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

fied. How does the fuel system of a motor vehicle, consisting of tank, ventilation, carburettor and motor block, function as the day passes? What difference does the temperature make and what losses are sustained?

How much fuel is lost by evaporation in the course of a specific time spent driving in typical city traffic? How much fuel is lost while the vehicle is stationary as a result of the heat this is still emitted from this engine?

Also, of course, the absorbent itself needed study. Active carbon was only

being used experimentally and the research engineers had to find out to what extent its filtration capacity changed in the course of use and what, if any, damage it sustained as a result of direct contact with liquid hydrocarbons.

The upshot of research work is a cartridge containing active carbon and attached to the fuel system at a point at which it not only deals with most fuel vapour in most situations but is also continually regenerated in its function as a filter.

When the engine is running part of the

Will fields and meadows alongside autobahns and busy Federal highways soon be empty and barren? Scientists are increasingly warning that the lead in petrol, emitted via exhaust fumes, poisons not only the air but also the vegetation.

The only means of affording protection from the health hazards of leaded food-stuffs is, so many experts feel, to ban the use of lead as an additive to motor fuels.

As motorisation gains momentum the roads are increasingly coming to be highways of environmental pollution — and not only in built-up areas.

According to Dr Georg Brügger, head of the department of agricultural production at the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Agriculture in Stuttgart, the motor car has already taken its toll of foodstuffs

Autobahns harm neighbouring fields, agricultural expert maintains

grown alongside autobahns and busy through roads.

High lead counts have been recorded 100 and 200 yards away from the road in question and vintners are increasingly being confronted by the problem too.

A Munich medical journal has mentioned the danger of poisoning in connection with wine containing grapes pressed on strips of land parallel to the autobahn.

Roads need only to be tarred or asphalted while the grapes are ripening for wines from nearby vineyards to be completely spoiled.

Even though reliable statistics may not

air intake to the carburettor is passed through the filter and clears it of fuel deposits.

For the time being all Volkswagen scheduled for export to the United States are being fitted out with an active carbon cartridge now that proof positive has been provided that this system fulfils the clean air regulations in force in North America since the beginning of this year.

The American specifications are particularly strict. Only an extremely small maximum amount of hydrocarbons may be emitted by the exhaust system and the clean air device must function without requiring servicing for at least 12,000 miles or 20,000 kilometres.

Better late than never, the Americans have gone a long way towards combating air pollution with the clean exhaust regulations. They are something this country too could well adopt. Technology is ready and waiting.

Hellmut Droschke (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 June 1971)

be available the only conclusion that can be reached is that agricultural production alongside autobahns and through roads must be brought to a halt.

Dr Brügger feels, however, that this is not the solution to the problem. Even if only a fifty-metre strip of land alongside trunk roads is declared unsafe for agricultural production 100,000 hectares, or 247,000 acres, of farmland would have to be written off.

The only feasible solution, Dr Brügger feels, is to ban leading of motor fuels altogether.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 15 June 1971)

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VDA suggestions

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programmed driving would be an ideal solution to the problem of our overcrowded streets at a reasonable cost.

But there is talk in the report of the highest degree of automation on the roads, complete automatic control of the car. However this would require special roads. If such roads were built and cars were adapted it would be possible theoretically to control steering, overtaking, lane changing and the like fully automatically. But research into this idea is still in its infancy.

But heedless to say there are many other ways in which our roads and the way we use them can be made more efficient.

Recently it was decided to extend the length of school holidays from seventy-five to ninety days starting in 1973. But nevertheless, it would be possible to ease the burden on the roads and wear on the nerves of motorists even more if sliding

working hours, which is becoming a popular system in the country and to spread the rush hour over a longer period, was accompanied by flexible shop opening and closing and business holidays.

Another way to relieve the pressure on roads during the busy period would be to restrict delivery vans, building vehicles and other such traffic.

Finally another point that the mobile Manufacturers Association has set up for discussion is restrictions on heavy and awkward lorries as well as selected 'clearways' where cars are allowed to stop in any circumstances. Parked and waiting cars are a hindrance to the traffic flow and their removal would help keep things moving.

The automobile industry has suggested that research should be carried out on the possibility of delivery vans being produced to shops at night.

Siegfried Wartenberg (Das Parlament, 18 June 1971)

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